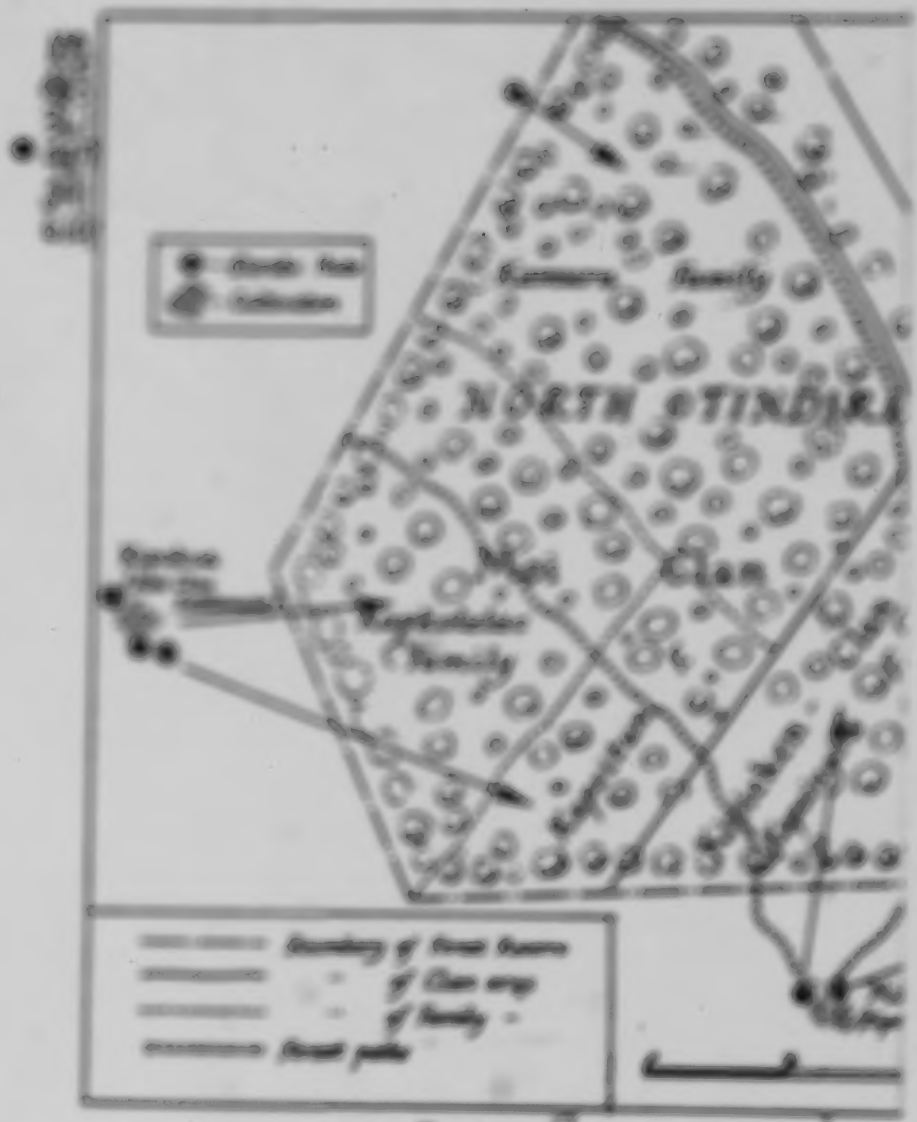
[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

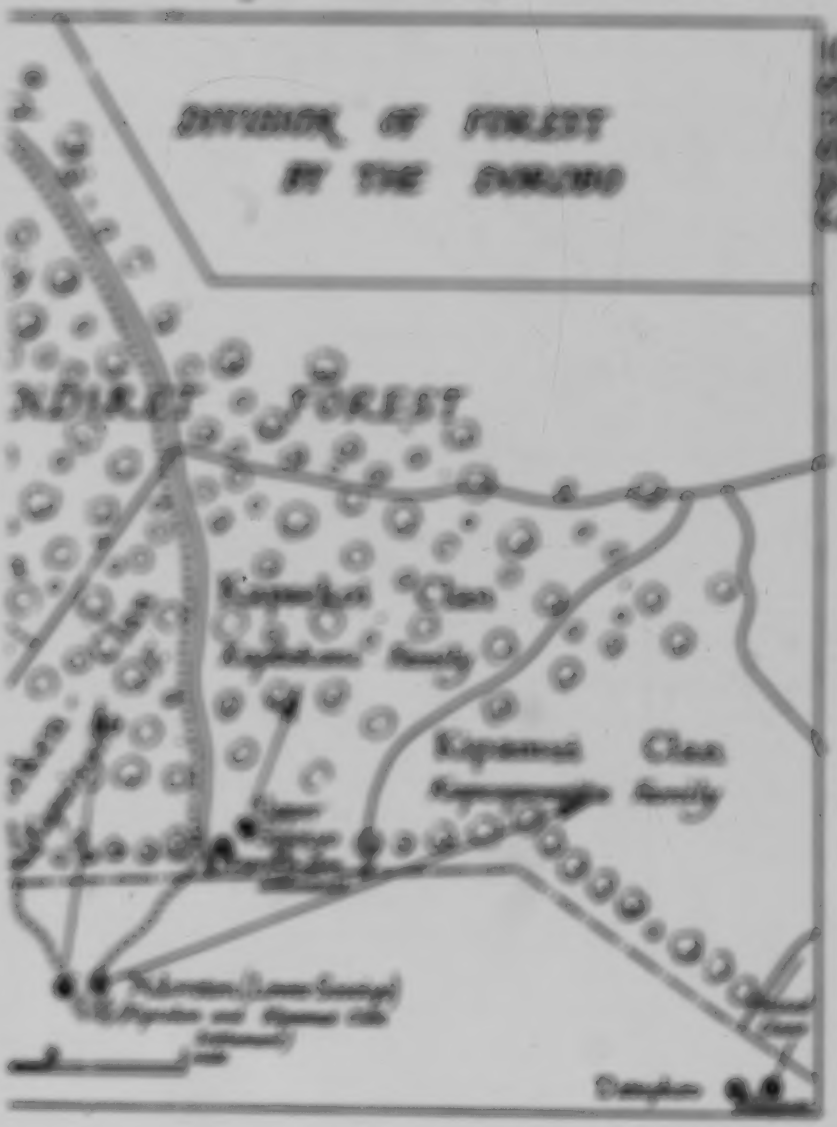
[illegible]

[illegible]

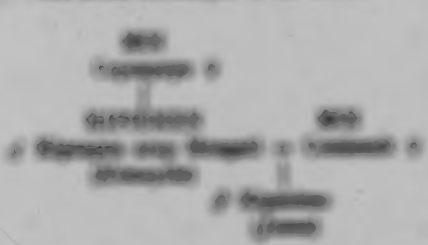
[illegible]

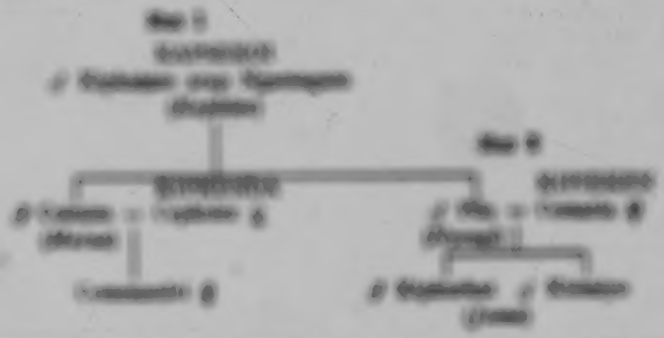


[p. 56]


DIVISION OF FORESTS
BY THE ENGLISH
NDIRE FOREST
Kipsamut Clan
Kipsamut Clan

[p.57]





[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, new posts between existing the actual area of trees. This boundary has a high value for the Forest Department, but it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a belt of European forest which occupy the land between the forest and the Duala Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the forest most of the Duala now live, and it is on these farms that some of these were.[1]

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of woody Raso bracts volcanic, the Nkongsamba Basin-rock, as is often the case in eastern Europe. Between the trees and the forest are glades (prairie) shooting upon spaces surrounded from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. On ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant climbers, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and [illegible] on European. In the dry months there is occasional frost even in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry months some moisture stays below the damp atmosphere.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of very exciting value, but it is from these natural trees and on short lease for the Duala who do not judge trees by their value as merchantable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Canarium, Bush sp.	Bombax, euphorbia scandicinum.
Bubbi, scrophulifera Volkensiana.	Aubrya, gedunculata sp.
Eriospermum, Mbo sp.	Asteranthi, mossa majora.
Lasiantheri, ellenata amaniensis.	Amaranth, mossa dictyoneuroides.
Khaldenyan, polygonanum tomentosum.	Amaranth, mossa mollissima.
Khaldenyan, Bushmanna sp.	Asteranth, Bosa sp.
Albanianyan, dicu dictyophyllis.	Asteranth, ernestiflorella digitata.
Cinnamomum, Bosa sp.	Pinus, juniperoides grandis.
Pinanth, Dwarfdenyan sp.	

Where the Dwarfs travel in the forest, their homesteads were marked by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth, somethings some of these paths are still used as approaches to heavy-harvest and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kijabonwe to Isangire, the other parallel to it from Kijabonwe to Isangire. These being the only through tracks, people going to Tinkonwe have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The forest are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dwarfs and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other Dorobo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (2) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance as valuable to them as milk to the Nandi. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts beside which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkorom and Sosoiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkorom to Sosoiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipukua to Sosoiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Nandi who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Meteitei valley; the other track is used mainly by Dorobo, and their honey-barrels and traps occur mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks is the Ain ap Tiset, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the areas held by the Kapkulelac (I), Kapsituni (II), and Kapsingira (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards towards the main track. Group N° I is represented by Arap Keter, Kipungri, and Kipasa, three brothers; N° II by Arap Minia; and N° III by Arap Singira. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipukua, and of III at Sosoiyo. The Ain ap Tiset is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamuru (IV) represented by Arap Korucu who lives at Kipkorom, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area N° V is held by the Kaporpousita family represented by Arap Ceruiyo and his brother Arap Cepousita who live at Ndoroton. Above this is area N° VI, held by the Kaptokoni, represented by Koriomoi who lives at Upper Sosoiyo in the forest. And finally N° VII is the easternmost area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Ngatepkoo in the forest and Lower Ngatepkoo outside it. These are a mixture of six families: Kamnasutik, represented by Totê; Kamereua, represented by Nekui; Kapkorongua, represented by Kilanya; Kapkimanoari, represented by Arap Euni; Kapkipopo, represented by Kipirec; and Kapkuikoi, represented by Sulio[1]. These holdings are clan areas as well (except in the case of N° VII where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily traced):

I. Family Kapkulelac II. Family Kapsituni IV. Family Kamuru	Clan Moi.
III. Family Kapsingira	Clan Kipiekem.
V. Family Kaporpousita	Clan Kipamui.
VI. Family Kaptokoni	Clan Kapuekoi.

[1] The prefix *Kap-*, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is added to the name of a principal recent ancestor, who may be a woman, e.g. *Kapsituni* is named from *Situni* the wife of Arap Minia's father's father.

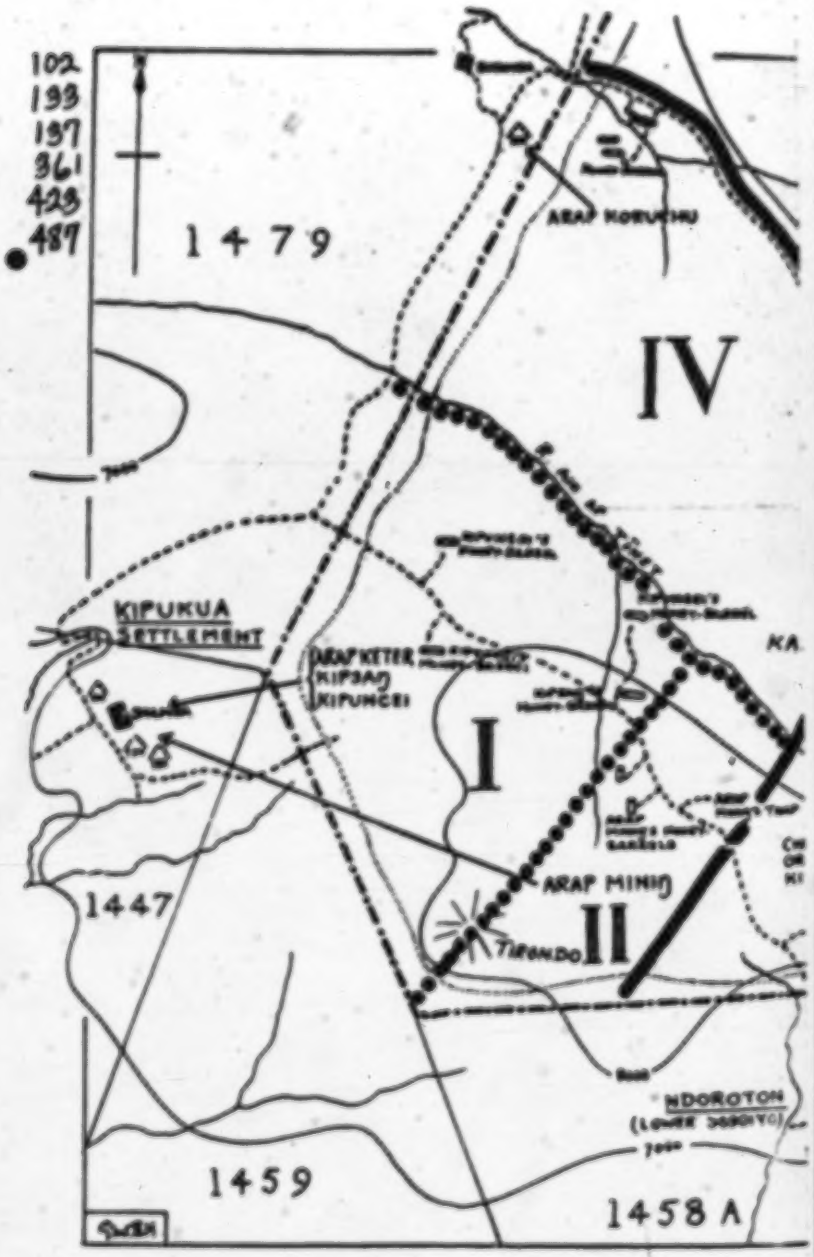
6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

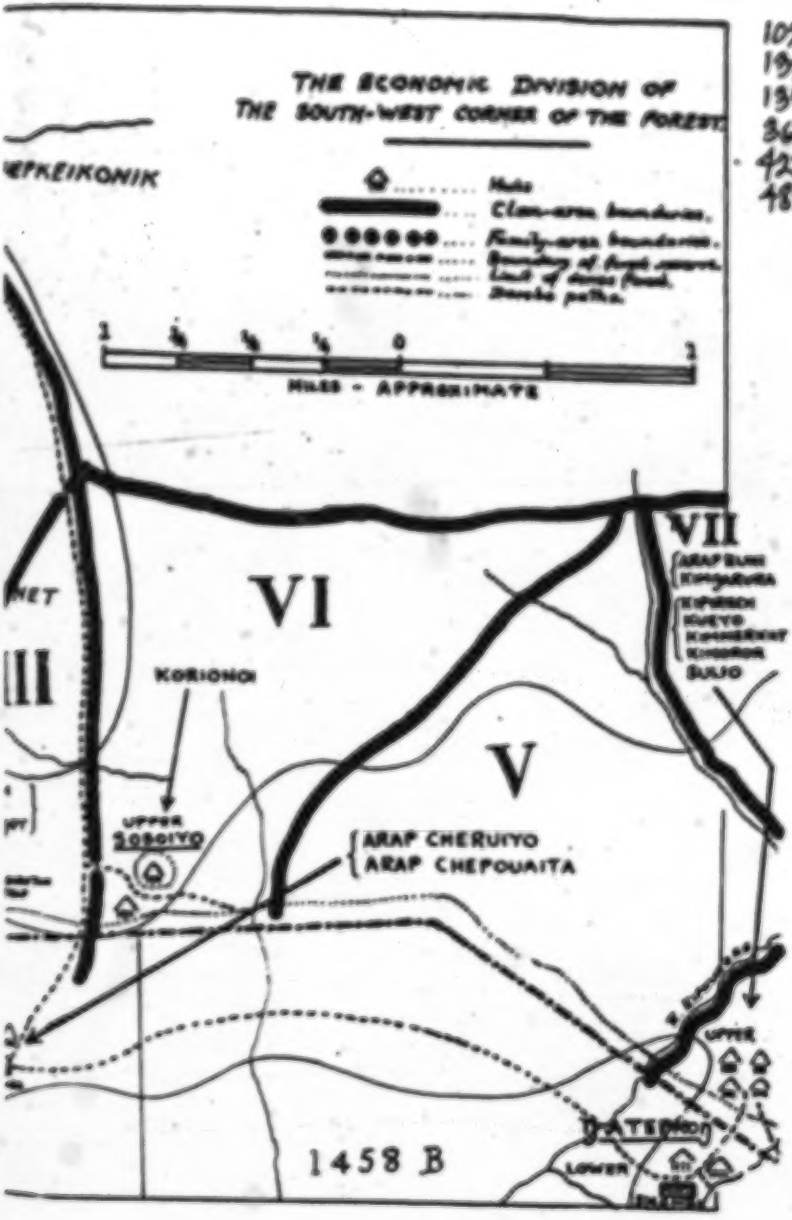
423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungri. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[186] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungri. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
● [487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *kesoget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *kesoget* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be
[224] remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [1].

114 [1] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.


102
193
137
361
428
487
1479
IV
KIPUKUA
SETTLEMENT
I
1447
ARAP MINIJ
II
TIRONDO
NDOROTON
1459
1458 A


THE ECONOMIC DIVISION OF
THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE FOREST
MILES - APPROXIMATE
VI
V
VII
KORIONDI
ARAP CHERUIYO
ARAP CHEPOUAITA
1458 B

633

[P.191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oryon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monôsis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morog) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[489] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[191] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog